one, highly individualistic but, at the same time, respecting fair play. They would be alive to democracy based on Christian virtues and a liberal economy. Among the Magyars there has long been, on the other hand, an awareness of the necessity of struggle for independence and of warring against either Eastern or Western infiltration. This struggle is represented by many Hungarian historical characters, now subjects of legends and folk tradition which inspire the Magyar peasant with some mistrust of foreigners in general.

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The Magyar peasants, like peasants in other countries are conservative and suspicious of change. This is why the present Communist regime in Hungary finds its greatest obstacle in the villages, and this attitude will have to be accounted for in any propaganda directed toward them. This, of course, does not mean that anything retrospective would appeal to them simply for conservativism's sake. For instance, they would obviously not care for the abolishment of the land reform of 1945 just because this would mean a return to a pre-war status; on the other hand, they would certainly appreciate the abolition of the present collective farming system.

Conservatism necessarily implies a respect for authority which is indeed present among the Magyar peasants, albeit not to the extent

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1r, Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

186 The Magyar peasants are deeply attached to their homeland and would possibly fight for it under a popular leadership. Any policy of regaining territories lost after World War I would be popular and could draw the active support of the population. The Magyars have always been aware, in a way, that they are quite isolated among the other mostly Slavic peoples of East Central Europe. This attitude of apartness and later of mistrust became a powerful source of antagonism after the Treaty of Trianon when the Magyars' neighbors emerged from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as independent states and wrenched from historic Hungary vast territories, part of which had purely or overwhelmingly Magyar populations. Thus, Irredentism, the leading spirit of all post-war governments came into being and became a powerful factor for gaining popular support of Hungary's pro-German sympathies.

Between the two world wars, the Magyars' misgivings about their neighbors have but increased in the light of the not-always-equitable treatment reserved for their Magyar minorities by the successor states. Through both diplomatic and military action, Hungary partially

186 regained the territories formerly belonging to her, but the Paris Treaty concluding World War II re-established the pre-war status quo. The result was that the anti-Czech, -Serbian, and -Rumanian spirit was still alive in 1945 and the years immediately following. The Communist regime, established in 1948, has done everything to minimize frictions and to glorify Hungary and her neighbors as a happy family laboring together to build Socialism. Even at the time of the Kominform's break with Tito, the Budapest government refused to make use of old Irredentistic clichés. It is safe to assume that Irredentism is still present among the Magyars and it will take another generation at least until it will even begin to disappear. Meanwhile, any political regime could turn this attitude to its own advantage; but the fact remains that public opinion and the policies of the government are definitely conflicting on this issue.

648 Modern history has so far proved, on the other hand, that clever propaganda or even the sheer force of circumstance can convert these "hereditary enemies" into allies or friends, or the other way around. Thus, the Hungarians became allies of the Germans during two world wars, in spite of the clear teaching of history that Hungary's most dangerous enemy is to the east. [sic!]

728 563 authorities. The post-war government undertook immediately to comply with the Potsdam decisions and to transfer Germans back to Germany. The Communists, who were strongly represented in the local and later the central government, were ruthless in the evacuation procedure. Deportees were often deprived of the most meager personal belongings and were pushed, helpless, over the border; cases of atrocities were also reported. Those who did manage to remain on their farms (most of the Germans affected were farmers) have not forgotten the lot of their neighbors and relatives, and they are now fiercely anti-Communist, although the government is making some efforts to win them over through German-speaking party organizers and propagandists and by means of a limited-circulation weekly published in German.

186 The national symbols of the Magyars originate, without exception, in pre-Communist times. There is no evidence as yet of any newly-introduced Communist symbol (the Red Star or the like) having gained popular acceptance. Two of the former national symbols, the royal crown and the national coat of arms, have been banned. Although there is no mention of them nowadays, the people who are now (1955) twenty or over, have been brought up on the assumption that the "Holy Crown" embodies national unity and independence and

symbolizes Magyar survival in the Carpathian Basin. The historic coat of arms consists of stripes representing the rivers of the pre-Trianon country, hills symbolizing the country's mountain ranges, and the apostolic cross representing the Christianity of its inhabitants, all painted with the three national colors. 186

Three other symbols have not yet been discarded by the Communists: the tricolor, the national anthem and the well-known Berlioz version of the Rákóczy March, a battle song.

The red, white and green of the Hungarian flag, now incorporated into the new Communist arms for the country also, are universally recognized as a national symbol. The red is believed to stand for bravery, for the blood Hungarians have shed in the defense of Western Europe against foreign invasions, the white for purity and virtue, and the green for hope. The Communists, to this day display the tricolor directly beside the red flag, which is still the official color of the regime. It is also to be noticed in Hungary that during Communist celebrations and demonstrations the red, white and green flag dominates the decorations in rural areas, but in the cities red flags predominate.

The old national anthem has been kept by the present regime

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The old national anthem has been kept by the present regime along with the Internationale. The anthem is the work of Kölcsey and Erkel, famous Hungarian poet and composer. The Rákóczy March recalls the heroic fight of the Magyars against the Hapsburgs in the early eighteenth century and is widely heard all over Hungary.

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Slogans representing national aspirations are not very common today. The slogans propagated by the Communist public information machinery are mostly such short-lived ones as the one quoted below which was created at the time of the currency reform in 1946: Fizessenek a gazdagok ('Let the rich pay'). These temporary slogans are intended for a restricted clientele and for a definite aim; the response to them is varied, but they never seem to penetrate the popular mind, and they are far from symbolizing nationalistic hopes. Perhaps it is the ever-changing policy of the Communist Party itself which prevents the regime from producing slogans of a permanent character.

The pre-war years, on the other hand, abounded in slogans voicing the Irredentistic sympathies of all the various governments of Hungary. Such slogans were the famous Nem Nem Soha! 'No, No, Never!' voicing the determination of the Magyar never to resign himself to the territorial losses provided for in the Versailles Peace Treaty, and the greeting Szebb Jövőt! 'A Brighter Future!' which the Hungarian young people took to heart and which may still be remembered.

not *our* country. We are told often enough that we are not the nation. (Though nowadays the lords say that we are the nation also.)

No, we know all about wars. Take, for instance, these frontier incidents with which our lords start their wars. Well, who guards the frontiers when our lords prepare for their wars? The lords? No, *we* do. We are called up. We are sore as hell because our families will hunger even more. It is true that in the army they give you very good food and a lot of it. You eat three times a day; you get beans, as much bread as you want, soup and quite often meat. But our families suffer, we have to march a lot, the sergeants slap our faces, kick our behinds, the officers whip us. We don't like it.

You can imagine that when we are on frontier-guard duties we don't want any more difficulties. The officers tell us where our country ends and where the other begins. We must shoot at the neighbouring frontier guards if they cross the line, and they must shoot at us. So we don't cross it, except when the sergeants or officers are not about. Then we cross over, maybe, for perhaps the neighbours have more cigarettes and we have more meat. Then we swap. Or they want to shoot a hare. They lie on their stomachs and watch. A hare shows up. They smile in friendly fashion. We smile back. They understand that we won't raise a row if they shoot at the hare in our direction. Well, if they are good shots, we divide the hare afterwards. But sergeants and officers don't hear about it. Please don't think that we cause incidents.

So how do incidents happen? Do we get a longing to walk over the ground a hundred metres in front of our line? The ground is just as muddy over there as ours. Why should we?

No, it is obvious that the sergeants and the officers cause the incidents, when they get orders to do so.

Yes, we know all this, and still, when the war starts, we soon get mad, we soon really want to fight—for a time. Such a thing as that which happened to a stupid lad of the third *puszta* beyond ours is rare. He went to the front in 1914. He wrote a pink military postcard to his wife, saying that he had had the good fortune to arrive at the front of the war of our lords. The officers were very mad about it.

We get really angry if our lords tell us that some foreigners want us to talk their language. You understand, we have nothing save our Magyar language. It is a terrifying experience enough to talk to one of our lords, even though he talks the same—well, almost the same—as we do. What would happen if we had to

[* i.e. Hungarian peasants -- Analyst]

talk a foreign language? Or imagine, if we have to go to the law courts. It is difficult enough for us to understand in any case, even though the Magyar language is spoken. But we manage somehow. Of course the honourable lawyers always profit. But still, it is not so terrifying as it would be to go to a foreign court. Or suppose for a minute that you, speaking English, have a very important case—something of life and death importance. Let us say you had a rich uncle who became a peasant and left you a cow. And now some distant relative of his also wants the cow. So you go to law. What chance would you have to defend your rights if the law refused to listen to anything except the Magyar language?

So we get scared and angry if they want to take away our language. And then we fight. But we see, after many months, that the other side is just like us. Then we don't want to fight.

How did we come to speak about all this? Oh, yes, the harvest-gang has arrived. All sorts of people come. They are very tired. You must understand, they are tired because they have to get accustomed to all kinds of different work. For some weeks they work with the hoe. For some weeks they push handcarts filled with sand for road-building. Then again they hire themselves out to masons or railway-builders.

They are the unskilled labourers. The foremen are angry with them because they are so clumsy. Of course, their bodies are just getting used to pushing handcarts when they have to start working with the heavy 15-pound hammer at building railways. So their muscles are sore, they are clumsy; but they hurry and force themselves to go on. You cannot let yourself be kicked out on the first day when you have hired yourself out for two weeks. If you are lucky, you can make a lot of money. You can, perhaps, return with a whole piglet. You can then feed it somehow, fatten it up. When it is big you can perhaps sell it, buy more piglets, feed them up, sell them with luck. Provided you can manage to feed them, provided they don't get sick and don't perish, provided you have work all this time so that you are not forced to sell too early, you can perhaps make enough money to buy a piece of land somewhere. Then you are a peasant. We all dream of such things, of course, and so we are eager to do all kinds of work. But our bodies, our muscles, are not. They ache.

Among the harvest-gangs there are many such dreamers. They know about distant parts where you can buy land. Because in the country of our lords you cannot buy land everywhere. In most parts you cannot buy even if you have the money. They don't want to sell. They want more land.

3:Kemeny G-5 (1945-48)1952 EC1 Hungary EC1

Cheap labour and scarce capital supplies directed industrialization towards the expansion of textile and other light industries. On the whole this line, typical for the industrialization of countries with the economic structure of Hungary, was followed during the inter-war period.

However, outside the general trend in the inter-war period there were some disturbing factors. The drive for industrialization gained a further impetus through the deterioration of the terms of trade as a result of increasing difficulties in disposing of the agricultural surplus at prices covering cost. This was due to the adverse tendency of the world market, but was aggravated by the protective measures taken by Germany, and other important consumers of Hungarian farm products, in their endeavours to approach self-sufficiency. In this atmosphere of economic nationalism the governing consideration in deciding on industrial investment projects was whether the requirements of the domestic market were or were not met by home supplies of the products concerned. The idea of 'improving' the trade balance by reducing imports of manufactured goods was gaining favour, and due consideration was not given to the broader aspects of international trade and to possibly more economic uses of resources.

A similar spirit has apparently become the guiding principle of the planners who are for the time being responsible for industrialization in South-eastern Europe. They are likely to be even more devoted to an economic philosophy inspired by nationalism than those who directed economic policy under capitalism. The present champions of industrial development blame their capitalist predecessors for having omitted to build up an adequate machine-tool and engineering industry. Preference for light industry had, it is contended, sacrificed the independence of the Hungarian economy in serving Western capitalist interests. The outstanding feature of economic policy, as professed at present, is the drive for an all-round industrial development with emphasis on heavy industry.

Thus the claim for autarky is being put forward more strongly than ever before. The insistence with which the case of heavy industry is advocated justifies the suspicion that it is supported by considerations other than purely economic. In the eyes of Communist politicians independence of the West in sectors of

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B.T.U. Only a small part of this portion of coal production was low-grade lignite (3,500–4,500 B.T.U.) used locally, and, on an increasing scale, to produce thermal electric power. Brown coal of average quality was generally used as fuel for manufacturing industry, railways, and agriculture. As shown by experience during the war, production could be considerably raised above the 1938 level.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

CHAPTER VI

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1919–1944

Many Hungarians are eager to express admiration and even affection for Great Britain. They copy many of our ways and they like to think that their institutions, their outlook on life and their interests resemble ours. These feelings are quite genuine; and yet, in spite of them, Hungary has now been involved in war with the British twice in a generation, at the side of their bitter enemy. What is the reason for this?

THE GERMAN HUNGARIANS. First, although these are the feelings of most of the population, they are not those of them all. There is, as has been said, a fairly strong German element in Hungary. If those who still enter themselves as German-speaking are less than 10 % of the population, and they mostly peasants, there are perhaps almost as many Hungarians again whose ancestors were German and who, especially in the last ten years or so, have come to feel more German than Hungarian. Many of Hitler's doctrines, and most of all, undoubtedly his anti-Semitism, has made a natural appeal to this class. Unfortunately while the German-speaking peasants are without much influence, these sons or grandsons of peasants, who left the farms and secured a position in the national life, are very influential indeed.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

Many have climbed to the top in politics, in the government offices, in the Church, and above all, in the army, which, so long as Hungary belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (in which the army was a central service under the direct command of the King-Emperor) was a career which Magyars tended to avoid as 'un-national'. In recent years the influence of the high army officers has been important, and Hungary's policy has been very strongly influenced by the fact that so many of them were of German blood.

FEAR OF THE SLAVS AND OF BOLSHEVISM. The people of German origin are not, of course, the only pro-Germans in Hungary. Many others, especially in the middle classes, have been infected by the same ideas, particularly by the anti-Semitism, and by admiration of the German army and belief, spread by clever German propaganda, in its invincibility. To this has been added, both in 1914 and above all, since Hitler attacked Russia in 1941, the Russian factor. The Magyars, in their lonely position encompassed north and south by Slavs, and with the huge Slav masses of Russia just across their frontiers, have always been terrified of the Slav danger.

Moreover, in 1918 and 1919 there occurred events which have left a deep mark on all subsequent Hungarian history. When the war was drawing to a close and the imminent defeat of the Central Powers was apparent, the old regime gave way and was replaced by a new government of the Left, friendly to the Entente, under Count M. Károlyi. This government proclaimed the separa-

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668 648 Nor were the traditional ruling classes the only blind 'anti-Bolsheviks' in the country. The Arrow Cross, who seized power in October 1944 precisely because the Regent had agreed to seek terms in Moscow, were fanatic in their hatred of Bolshevism; and yet this movement, although not representative of the proletariat, was largely drawn from it.

563 648 668 •186 THE LEGACY OF THE TURKISH OCCUPATION. The anti-Bolshevik element is quite modern, and applies only to the present generation. The other question, that of the 'Slav menace' is part of the larger problem which really settled which side Hungary would take, both in this war and in the last. Indeed, the whole position probably dates back to the blood-letting of the Turkish wars, from which, as has been shown, Hungary emerged with only the centre of her territory Magyar and with Slavs and Rumanians in the majority in the north, south and east. Distasteful and oppressive as the subsequent Habsburg rule was to Hungary, most Hungarians recognized that only Habsburg protection could save them from the Turks, and in more modern times, from other dangers: Russia, and the claims of Serbia and Rumania. In the last half-century before 1918, while this situation still existed, a new factor was introduced by the aspirations of the Slavs inside Austria itself. A federalization of Austria, as the Austrian Slavs desired it, might have kept the Monarchy intact but would inevitably have led sooner or later, to Hungary loosing her own Slav districts. Thus the Hungarian leaders found themselves bound not only to Austria, but to the centralist German element

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in Austria, as the only racial element in that country which did not threaten Hungary's territorial integrity; for the Germans of Austria did not interest themselves particularly in Hungary's German population.

THE BOND WITH AUSTRIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. Although, therefore, in 1914 the leaders of Hungary genuinely did not want the war, self-preservation prohibited them from leaving Austria and Germany in the lurch, even if they had been able to determine their own foreign policy, which was not the case. Thus in 1918 they were inevitably left, with the Germans of Austria, as the defeated enemy, while the other nations of the Monarchy gained their independence at the hands of the Allies, forming, largely at the expense of Hungary, the new States of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and the greatly enlarged State of Rumania.

It is true that Austria also received some German-inhabited districts in West Hungary, the Burgenland, but although Hungary bitterly resented Austria's action in claiming these districts, as treachery to her old partner, they were insignificant compared to what was lost to the other States. Moreover, there were only a few thousand Magyars in the Burgenland, while Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia each received, not only the districts in which Slavs or Rumanians, as the case might be, were in the majority, but also considerable districts inhabited by Magyars. Some of these, as parts of Transylvania, could not be left with Hungary without leaving a larger number of non-Magyars in that country. Other districts lay right

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on the frontiers, but were taken from Hungary, in spite of their populations, for economic or strategic reasons. In this way Rumania got, in round figures and according to the Hungarian census of 1910,[1] 1,700,000 Magyars, together with 2,800,000 Rumanians and 750,000 other nationalities; Czechoslovakia 1,050,000 Magyars, with 1,690,000 Slovaks, 420,000 Ruthenes and 325,000 others; and Yugoslavia (excluding Croatia, the cession of which Hungary recognized) 470,000 Magyars with 605,000 Serbs, Croats and other Yugoslavs, and 450,000 others.

THE POLICY OF REVISION. From the day on which the Hungarian delegates signed the Treaty of Trianon, the whole of Hungarian foreign policy could be summed up in the single word 'revision'—revision of the Treaty which had inflicted these losses on the Kingdom. Many Hungarians, of course, understood by 'revision' the complete restoration of 'historic Hungary'. They had been brought up in an intense pride in their ancient state, with its 'millenary frontiers' and in a firm belief that no other order was right, natural or even, in the long run, possible in the Danube basin. They had been taught to believe that the 'disloyalty' of the non-Magyars was simply the work of a few agitators, fomented from outside—from Rumania, Serbia or the anti-Hungarian forces in Austria. They believed that the peoples them-

[1] The census subsequently taken by all Successor States were, indeed, much less favourable to the Magyar element, but still showed large numbers of Magyars in each of these three States.

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selves were attached to Hungary and readily accepted the rule in it of the Magyar or Magyarized oligarchy and that they had no real cause of complaint. Others admitted that the non-Magyars had had much to complain of, and had become disaffected, but put the blame solely on the unwise and intolerant policy of the governments of the past half century and thought that a different policy would have ensured the loyalty of the 'nationalists'.

This belief in the justification of historic Hungary and demand for 'integral revision' was most freely expressed by those Magyars whose homes had been in the non-Magyar districts now lost to Hungary. These included many Magyar landowners, whose estates had been situated among non-Magyar peasants, among whom they were divided up by the new governments. This gave the latter the excuse of representing the whole revisionist movement as the work of a few landowners anxious to save or to recover their estates. This was a misrepresentation: for the landowners, although they would have preferred to save their estates, would still have wished to remain in Hungary on any terms, and many other persons besides them believed in 'integral revision'. But it is true that the whole question was made more difficult by the widespread Hungarian belief that the whole structure of the Danube basin ought to be centralized in Budapest and run on a uniform system which could, under the circumstances, be only a Magyar national one; that only a State, Magyar in form, could deal with its problems. From this it was only a step to the attitude that the Magyars

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themselves were the natural superiors of their neighbours, a *Herrenvolk* acknowledging no equals except, indeed, the Germans.

This *Herrenvolk* attitude, which was so bitterly and so justly resented by Hungary's neighbours, represented, of course, the outlook of the ruling class, whose domination, in its social and political aspects, pressed just as heavily on the Magyar peasants and workers as on the non-Magyars. But it does not account for the whole of the Hungarian 'revisionism'. The poor man in Hungary cared nothing for the estates of the Transylvanian magnates, and did not challenge the right of the 'nationalities' to freedom. But even he felt the Treaty to be unjust, and agreed with his government at least in the wish for a 'lesser revision' which would restore to Hungary the Magyar populations now left just outside the frontiers.

THE REVISIONIST PURPOSE OF THE GERMAN ALLIANCE. Hungary ended by joining Germany again in the present war because Germany, like her a loser in the last war, also wished to upset the system which the victors had set up after it, and was thus the only power both willing and, perhaps, strong enough to help her to her 'revision'. Thus the Hungarian position and actions in the present war have been the direct outcome of the last. Indeed, the two are so closely interconnected that it is really hardly fair to speak of Hungary as following the same course 'twice in a generation'; the whole is really only one story.

Many Hungarians felt deep misgivings about the course which they ended by adopting. The pro-

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German element was, indeed, constantly urging the closest possible friendship with Germany. They not only argued that no other country would help Hungary, but even if she could have chosen her helpers, they would have preferred Germany to be the choice, both as Hungary's 'natural ally' against the Slavs, and, after Hitler came into power, as the embodiment of counter-revolution, anti-Bolshevism and anti-Semitism. They ridiculed the idea that any force in the world would be able to stand up to the mighty German army.

Men who thought along these lines were very influential in Hungary, especially in the army, and were strongly represented in successive governments. General Gömbös, who was Hungarian Prime Minister in the early thirties, was one of them, and did much to lay the foundations of the later close co-operation between Hungary and Germany.

POSITION OF THE MODERATES. But not all Hungarians liked Hitler's ideas. There were, and are, many who hoped to see Hungary develop along more modern and more democratic lines. Then there was the old, widespread dislike of the Germans, inherited from the old revolts against the Austrian Emperors. There was a deep fear that if the Germans did win, their victory would not benefit the Hungarians, who would be enslaved just like all the other smaller peoples of Europe. Finally, a few of the more travelled and far-seeing Hungarian politicians knew something of the resources of the Western Powers and were not convinced that the German army was, after all, invincible.

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The Hungarians who thought this way were still unwilling to ally themselves with the Little Entente, on the terms of giving up revision. But they looked for allies not to Germany, but to the two other nearby countries in something of the same position as themselves, Italy and Poland, and they always hoped that, if revision came, they could get the Western Powers to participate in arranging it or at any rate to approve it. The leader of this school of thought was Count Paul Teleki, who became Prime Minister for the second time in 1939 (he had held the same position for a short time in 1921).

MUNICH: ASCENDANCY OF THE PRO-GERMANS. No Hungarian Government, however, was prepared actually to refuse restoration of the Magyar areas if offered it, even by Germany, and things developed in a way which at first seemed to give the all-out-for-Germany party very much the best of the argument. Throughout the years after the war, when Germany was still weak, both Hungary's neighbours and the Western Powers supported the *status quo* in its entirety. In 1927 Hungary concluded a Treaty with Italy, and Mussolini publicly took up the Hungarian cause. But it soon appeared that Italy would never be able to give Hungary much more than words; and she moved over presently to the 'Axis'. Poland was even less of a help. Thus it appeared that after all, Hungary would never get anything unless Germany moved, and even then, she might not benefit unless she took care to be on good terms with Germany. In fact, when the first real chance came—at Munich in

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

1938—the Hungarian Government of the day nearly missed the boat altogether, for having been too independent toward Germany in the preceding months. Hurriedly they tried to make amends and ended by getting awarded to them the southern strip of Slovakia and Ruthenia at the expense of Czechoslovakia; but now they had to take it at the hands of Germany and Italy, with the Western Powers disapproving.

So things went on. The Hungarians occupied Ruthenia in March 1939, and represented what they did as a move against Germany; but in Britain it was regarded as another stab in the back of Czechoslovakia. Then came the invasion of Poland by Germany with Britain and France coming in to help Poland. At first the Hungarian Government tried to keep out, and were able to do so since Italy was following the same course. They even went so far as to bury their quarrel with Yugoslavia. But they were unwilling to do the same with Rumania, to whom Hungary had lost much more, both in area and population by the Treaty of Trianon. And Rumania had recently received a guarantee from Britain.

THE VIENNA AWARD. Thus when the chance of revision here came, in the summer of 1940—this time through Russia's action—Hungary again had to take it from the Axis, if at all. The result was the Second Vienna Award, of 30th August 1940, which gave Hungary Northern Transylvania.

The population in Transylvania is particularly mixed, and it is practically impossible to draw a line which does not favour one side or the other.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

By this time the Rumanians had rejected the British guarantee of assistance to defend their independence and both Rumanians and Hungarians were competing for Germany's favour. The Hungarian Government got the better bargain of the two but at the price of further subservience to Germany. They had to sign the Three Power Pact, which allied them formally with the Axis. At the same time Teleki carried his policy of reconciliation with Yugoslavia further, and the two countries signed a Pact of Eternal Friendship. But this action, the first genuine renunciation of revisionist claims which any Hungarian Government had made since the Trianon, proved in the end the most fatal of all.

COUNT TELEKI'S SUICIDE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. For both Italy and Germany had now dropped the idea of keeping South-Eastern Europe out of the war. Italy had invaded Greece; Hitler was making his plans for attacking Russia and wanted the Balkans under his control. For this purpose he began sending troops into Rumania and Bulgaria. The Hungarian Government allowed these troops to pass through Hungary, and although this was a glaring breach of neutrality, the British Government did not call Hungary openly to account for it. But Hitler then made the same demand of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Government in Power—that with which Hungary had signed her Part of Friendship—agreed; but there was a revolt. A new Yugoslav Government came into Power, rejected the Germans' demands and prepared to fight, if necessary.

11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

HUNGARIAN PAGEANT

THE TRADITION OF THE PEARLY BOUQUET

Beginning in 1931, a few years ago the Pearly Bou- 545
quet was meant to be only an extra diversion among so 186
many, a graceful surprise to the visitors to Budapest on St. Stephen's Day, day of King Stephen, founder and Patron Saint of Hungary. It was conceived to be a flashing sample of Hungarian folk-art and folk-lore for the passing visitor too hurried to go beyond the walls of the Hungarian capital, not knowing that the "different," the fascination of the "unusual," the eternal quest and ultimate pleasure of world-travellers tuned to the velvety speed of international Pullmans, lay there waiting in the whitewashed quaintness of tiny Hungarian villages hidden amidst the undulating waves of whispering wheat hardly a stone's throw beyond the city gates.

It was a venture born perhaps in a moment's happy fancy, or in response to an untold necessity, which brought to Budapest a handful of robust peasant folk: healthy and handsome Hungarian youths and shyly smiling Hungarian maidens, accompanied by a careworn village teacher, who came one evening to sing and dance in the City Theatre before a few hundred sophisticated foreigners and about as many of the inhabitants of Budapest.

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11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

545 The sparkle of the genuine, the charm of this un-
*186 trained little group's simple sincerity, and the bewildering variety of colour, movement, and melody captivated this at first so indifferent audience. The echo of their success found the response of the Press, and their nascent fame overflowed the City Theatre and the city itself, to become overnight the beginning of a nation-wide movement and an international success that knew no boundaries.

The small number of pioneering villages was followed by many hundreds; the few little dances and acts of the beginnings have grown into thousands, and the quaint name of the first performance, "Pearly Bouquet," became the designation of a national endeavour, the "trade-mark" of an internationally famed artistic achievement.

Today the Pearly Bouquet has a chapter, a working organization, in nearly every Hungarian village, and the number of remembered folk-songs, retold little dramas, reborn dances, and revived customs is almost countless, as is the wealth of recollected folk-costumes.

Millions of Hungarians and many hundred thousand foreign visitors have admired and applauded the Pearly Bouquet in Hungary and during its appearances at the international folk-festivals in London, Hamburg, Cannes, Nice, and Vienna, to mention only a few of the major stations in the unbroken line of conquering, irresistible success.

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The Pearly Bouquet could best be defined as the self-expression of the Hungarian soul in its full holiday splendour; the translation into terms of dancing, singing, picturesque customs, and colourful costumes of the festive spirit of the Hungarian people. It is a representative collection of the most characteristic Hungarian dances, of the most beautiful and most typical Hungarian

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545 songs, a variety of miniature peasant dramas, and a selec-
• 186 tion of the quaint ancestral customs of the Hungarians, enacted on national holidays in a natural setting by the prettiest girls and the handsomest men of a strikingly beautiful race, famed for its spirit, its gaiety, its vivid imagination, its temperamental ways, its love of music, and the unequalled splendour of its gorgeous folk-costumes.

The Pearly Bouquet is also a nation-wide organization, a co-operative society for the revival and preservation of Hungarian folk-lore in all its forms: of the picturesque folk-costumes, of the native dances and songs, and of the various native customs connected with practically every event of some importance in the life of the Hungarian peasant — wedding-celebrations, harvest and vintage festivals, and the multitude of holiday celebrations at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, which even in our days are observed with striking vividness and in a bewildering variety all over the country.

It would be, however, the gravest mistake to think that the Pearly Bouquet Society is nothing but a conventional folk-lore society addicted to the routine work of collecting data about folk-lore for the preservation of national characteristics and the like. It is, rather, a spontaneous natural phenomenon, one of the most truly remarkable ones of modern times, in which the country-folk and their leaders, the village priest, the village teacher, and the notary enthusiastically co-operate in bringing back to full life, to complete revival, the natural self-expression of the Hungarian people which has been endangered and sometimes impaired by the encroaching material civilization.

In fact the Pearly Bouquet has become an essential part of Hungarian national existence, an important com-

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545 ponent of Hungarian national life, answering in its func-
86 tions a deep-rooted national necessity: the urge for the free, and at the same time solemn, self-expression of the folk-spirit itself. There is nothing factitious about this. It is life itself, or rather an angle, one of the most essential angles of real life in which the Hungarian folk-character reflects itself in the light of its aspiration for the Beautiful, for the Eternal, and for the Sublime. No one who has witnessed the Pearly Bouquet could have failed to feel, to realize, that it is an expression surging from the unsoundable depths of the ages and of the national soul of which the individual is hardly more than an unconscious carrier.

The Pearly Bouquet is the crystallization of these aspirations, showing in retrospect the condensed and idealized memories of a thousand years of tribal existence on the Steppes of the East, and of another millennium integrated into the West, lived on the Hungarian lowlands, on the limits of the Orient and spent in the defence of the Occident, by the Hungarians in an always dualistic, hyphenated existence. Thus the Pearly Bouquet constitutes the most convincing proof to the effect that popular national art, meaning the ultimate development in the primitive art of the people of a nation, can have its roots only in the ancestral traditions and flourish only on the national soil.

186 The Pearly Bouquet also shows the wonderful elasticity of a nation which alone of so many was able to get a firm foothold on the cross-roads of the people's eternal migration, and which alone of so many was able to keep its stand for a thousand years in the face of ceaseless onslaughts from the East and against the assimilating tendencies of the West. The Hungarian people could accomplish this feat only by being, in a sense, the most

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occidental and at the same time the most oriental of European peoples. It could accomplish it only by embracing and fully adopting the institutions and the spirit of Western civilization and contributing to Western culture in many ways, and by keeping and preserving the life-giving strength, the flexible vigour, and the conservative traditions of its Eastern origin. The vicissitudes of a thousand trying years in the very storm-centre of Europe only helped to bring out in these true sons of the earth the spirit of self-assertion, the determination to live, of a nation which was born to rule and destined to survive.

National folk-lore in almost every instance goes back to the beginnings of a people's national existence and keeps traces at least of the original myths, religions, symbols, and superstitions of a people. Nearly always the myths and symbols of the old and the religions and the interpretations of the new may be discerned in an intertwining superposition of forms, of which at times it is so hard to tell whether they are the substance of the new clad in the form of the ancestral, or the essence of the old surviving in the guise of the new. For the proper understanding it is necessary to know in broad lines at least the different phases of the national development, their cause, their motive, their purpose, because only by knowing the sources can the meaning of any national folk-lore be determined. This affirmation holds true with special weight in the case of the Hungarians.

The Hungarians are a people who came forward from the European slopes of the Ural and from the shores of the Caspian Sea and the Aral Lake, like so many other peoples before and after them. But they were one of the very few to adopt the culture of the West fully and to retain at the same time the essence of their ancestral ways of life, the festive forms of their celebrations, and their

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186 splendid distinctive national costumes. Apart from religion — they at once instinctively embraced Western Christianity and pledged themselves thereby inseparably to the West — they kept all their traditions, and, what is still more significant, they perhaps alone of all migrating peoples kept, from the second century A. D. up to our days, their faithful domestic animals taken in their wanderings from the highlands of the Ural to the lowlands of Europe, where, as in times of old, they still have their fierce-looking long-horned cattle, their fighting jet-dark sheep, of which the blade-horned ewes are as strong and wild as the rams, and their faithful dogs of unsurpassed intelligence. They alone kept their typical ways of cultivation, their gorgeous folk-costumes, and the wealth of their essentially unchanged folk-lore.

High up in Central Europe, bordering on Poland, Austria, and Bohemia, they were the buffer state between the East and the West for more than a thousand years, from 896 to our days, in an unending sequence of defensive wars against all sides. Whether it was fate or coincidence, the alternating epochs of national greatness and of national decline always corresponded more or less closely to the revival and the neglect of proved national traditions. It can be clearly traced that fidelity to the National has always helped Hungary to maintain and assert herself, while the laxity of prosperous periods was invariably followed by periods of national calamity. These times of decline could not have been fought and won without reaching back to the inexhaustible reservoir of national resources and proved national traditions. This was true as far back as the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, in the times of repulsed Tartar invasions, throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, during the times of Turkish domination, and ever since

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the eighteenth century in the mute and stubborn defence against Austro-German aspirations of assimilation. Hungarians simply did not want to surrender, and as long as they were able to assert their national identity they did not have to surrender. Until as late as 1867, when the agreement known as the Compromise between Austria and Hungary came into being, the provincial population of Hungary, the magnates, the gentry, the citizenry, and the peasants, kept their racial and national characteristics almost intact — and that in the face of Austrian incursions into all domains of public and private life, despite the gradual increase of foreign nationalities who, seeking and finding refuge from annihilation by the Turks, settled and took firm root in Hungary during the centuries of Turkish wars. To the force of mighty Austria the Hungarians did not bow; over the settling refugees to whom they instinctively considered themselves superior they remained masters, and with them they did not mingle.

The symbolic expression of this national resistance, of this national self-assertion, was the way all Hungarians dressed and acted in public and in private life, so that the typically Hungarian in dress and in other forms and ways of life was in Hungarian history always the most accentuated in times of national emergency. It was only too natural for it to culminate in the period from the supressed War of Independence in 1849 to the signing in 1867 of the agreement between Austria and Hungary commonly known as the Compromise. During this period Hungarian costume-art and Hungarian folk-lóre in general attained their peak; the dignified, rich gala costumes of the Hungarian magnates and gentry were to be seen everywhere, and the attire of the peasant population blossomed into the colourful flowers of fantasy.

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186 178 The prosperous and peaceful decades which followed the Compromise[1] and which came to an end only in the disaster of the World War, brought with them the gradual decline of the national spirit, a reaction in which much of the native originality in Hungarian folk-lore, folk-art, and folk-costumes was tarnished and often altogether lost. The magnates and gentry gave up their grudge against Austria; an emancipated citizenry of tradesmen and artisans was born which gained in importance rapidly, and whose plain attire and quiet colourless life became a triumph of unimaginative uniformity. In such circumstances the peasantry lost its bearings; seeing their landlords discard the venerated Hungarian gala, the peasants began to feel uneasy before the urban masses, which in number and importance gradually supplanted the impoverished gentry, and whose plain, business-like garments contrasted so strikingly with the peasants' picturesque, fanciful attire . . .

178 The transformations of the technical era and compulsory military service only hurried this development so damaging to Hungarian folk-lore. The young peasant folk were attracted in ever-growing numbers by the factory wages paid in ringing cash at the end of the working day, and many a proud plainsman's son failed to realize that he became and remained a day-labourer, his effaced existence dependent on the trend of business and subject to the whim of a foreman or of an inconsiderate employer. The false glamour and deceiving comforts of domestic service took an equally heavy toll. Then every year hundreds of thousands of lads under twenty-one were conscripted, and on their return, after an absence of three long, transforming years, they eyed the quaint ways of the village with a sort of surprised misgiving. The factories started pouring out their cheap,

1 [The agreement between Austria and Hungary in 1867--Analyst]

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mass-produced merchandise upon the countryside, and before long the existence of the village became transformed to its foundations. 178

In 1914, against her own interests but living up faithfully to the terms of her Alliance, Hungary took part in the World War. After the disaster Hungary was mutilated to the extent of two-thirds of the national territory and lost as much of her population; revolutions ravaged the country already darkened with confusion and chaos. But there was one advantage hidden in these national disasters: they roused the country from its lethargy and brought about a renaissance of the national spirit, reviving its natural expressions, the extinction of which would have meant an irreparable loss to Hungary and to the world. 186

With the clearing up of the internal situation the spontaneous national reaction was immediate and universal, but at first unorganized and inarticulate. It is most fortunate that it found its natural expression in the form of the Pearly Bouquet, its leader in the incomparable Béla Paulini, and its understanding patron in the Administration and the public of the City of Budapest.

Today it may rightfully be said that the success of the Pearly Bouquet is a symbolic victory of the Hungarian folk-soul over technocracy, a victory of the understanding Hungarian peasant intelligence which realized that it is possible, useful, and enjoyable to profit by the advantages of our mechanical civilization and to remain at the same time one's own self true to the traditions of the Hungarian folk-soul. It is a most significant phenomen for which its creator Paulini coined the expressive phrase that "on weekdays they are for the West, and on their holidays for the East", with all the material and intellectual implications of the words.

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186 The whole movement turned out to be a successful move against the enveloping tide of grey uniformity; a peaceful fight fought with the blessed weapons of idealism in which the pendulum of time miraculously swung back in progressive cultural traditionalism.

186 545 For the true understanding of the Pearly Bouquet it is sufficient to see any one of its performances, any single flower of the Pearly Bouquet, its petals humid with the crystal-dew of country morns, to listen to the performers' speech and to hear their songs alive with the vibrating soul of the medieval forest.

The scene unfolds before the spectator like an eclosion. To the rhythmic throbs of their heavy shepherd canes the minstrels tell their vivid tales, in captivating freshness we see the sequence of miniature dramas in the charming simplicity of which the soul of the peasant life declares itself in details full of meaning and sincerity: the quaint rituals of the bride-wooing and of peasant weddings, the celebration of the harvest, symbolic thanksgiving among the waves of golden wheat, and the vintage festivals with the golden flow of the new wine on the volcanic slopes of Tokay. Then to the passionate strains of Hungarian gypsy music we see the mystic midsummer-night's dance of the maidens round St. Ivan's fire, then the whirling Hungarian dances in all their exquisite variety, first slow, and stately, then quick and frenzied, to be followed by the undulating double step and the gaiety of the dipping and the skipping dance.

From the reverberating cymbalom, a tightly-wired square table, the gypsy brings out the contagious melancholy and the irresistible, wild gaiety of Hungarian folk-songs with his soft padded hammers moving with the speed of lightning. The clear ringing tárogató fills the air with the atmosphere of camp fires surrounded

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by tired warriors with their dreamy longing for their girls and their families. Then the caressing sweet melodies of the violins spread their enchantment or stir the revolving dancers to rapturous hilarity, interrupted suddenly by the thrilling solo dances of the men, amazing in the robust vigour, the proud dignity, and the graceful ease of their performance. They are followed by the coquettish cushion and bottle dances of the girls, the mischievous circling of the cap dance, a multitude of recruiting dances, and by the strenuous exercise of the hook dance of the herdsmen.

The setting is changing all the time, and where we have just witnessed the revels of the cowboys we now enjoy the frolics of the spinnery enveloped with magic and the cheerful fantasy of bright-coloured folk-attire.

Every performance of the Pearly Bouquet, whether the national reunion on St. Stephen's Day or the modest celebration of a minor local chapter, is a national festival, the most distinctive of all Hungarian festivals. It is a celebration always colourful, artistic, and festive, but never tedious, exaggerated, or artificial; for while it glorifies in the simple ways of peasant folk the most beautiful, the most spiritual, the very best in Hungarian folk-art, it never pretends to be more than symbolic testimony to the fact that Hungarian Sundays do exist and have their distinctive atmosphere, just as toilsome Hungarian weekdays have their own. It recognizes and affirms that ideals, dreams, and aspirations have a real existence with all their consequences just as material realities have. The Pearly Bouquet is the festive, solemn expression of this thought, and not a fight against modernity or against the achievements of technocracy. The Hungarian peasant of today will be only too glad to use

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186 the steel plough drawn by the tractor and fill the furrow
545 with synthetic fertilizers to make the earth pay richer returns on his sweat and labour, but he does not tolerate the coercion of the machine age, and wishes to know that his soul is free of the iron harness of uniformity.

The Pearly Bouquet is the focal point at which the expression of this thought appears in its convincing fulness, an image in which the humble realities of Hungarian peasant life are transposed to the sphere of absolute art.

SECTION TEN

The Coat of Arms, the Flag and the Capital of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Article 67.

The coat of arms of the Hungarian People's Republic is:

A hammer and ear of wheat in a round blue field surrounded by a wreath of wheat; in the upper part of the field a five-pointed red star radiating rays onto the field: below the field a band in the colours red, white, and green.

Article 68.

The flag of the Hungarian People's Republic is of horizontal bands of red, white and green with the arms of the Hungarian People's Republic in the centre.

Article 69.

The capital of the Hungarian People's Republic is the city of Budapest.

SECTION ELEVEN

Final Provisions.

Article 70.

1) The constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic enters into force on the day of its promulgation. Its enforcement is the duty of the Council of Ministers.

2) The Council of Ministers has the duty of submitting to Parliament the bills required for the implementation of the constitution.

Article 71.

1) The constitution is the fundamental law of the Hungarian People's Republic.

2) The constitution as well as all constitutional enactments are obligatory for all organs of state power and all citizens alike.

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178 cupied a position of trust or responsibility in the country prior
661 to 1945 was now impoverished and ostracized. The number of distinguished exiles was legion. Economic conditions had deteriorated so completely that even food, product of the rich plains, was lacking. Tens of thousands who could find no employment in the industries which were being created by fiat, by reason of age or of earlier religious and political affiliations, were marked for deportation. These wholesale shipments of human cattle aroused the indignation of the outside world. Lord Vansittart reported to the House of Lords that 100,000 persons had been earmarked for slave-labor camps. For a time this ghastly business was halted; but seemingly reliable information indicates that the shipments were resumed during 1952.

621 As elsewhere in the Russian orbit, the emphasis was on
461 production and organization for war. Russian military and
• 186 economic officials virtually took over the country. Criticism of the workers and particularly youth was everywhere part of the order of the day. Young Hungarians, the government declared again and again, had been inoculated with the diseases of pacifism and pro-Imperialism. Even the official Youth Organization, DISZ, was accused of "cosmopolitanism" and "adoration of the Anglo-American imperialist monster." On June 28, 1952, Matron Horváth, speaking for the Communist Party, reemphasized the need for continued intensive opposition to "clerical reaction." He expressed shocked surprise that some members of the Party still participated in religious functions and, indeed, permitted the Church to influence their children.

668 This would be as pertinent a note as any on which to end our account of the Hungarian tragedy were it not for the breath-taking events which have followed the death of Stalin. Years of draining away the substance of the people and of